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ABSTRACT

This paper argues that, contrary to the views of several contemporary observers, American higher education is not becoming more homogeneous but more diverse. Higher educational institutions vary widely in their organizational structures, purposes and goals, and governance patterns. In order to compare these diverse institutions systematically, the Stanford Project on Academic Governance established a typology consisting of eight broad categories. These categories are shown to vary systematically on organizational features affecting diversity: environmental relations, complexity of professional task, and institutional size and complexity. It is predicted that the different categories of institutions, reflecting different organizational features, will have different governance patterns which, in turn, will affect both faculty and the kinds of policy-influencing activities faculty members engage in. A 20-item bibliography is included. (Author/PG)

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DIVERSITY IN ACADEMIC GOVERNANCE PATTERNS

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Stanford University
Stanford, California

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- Exploratory and Related Studies

This report is one of several from the Stanford Project on Academic Governance, which is part of the Environment for Teaching Program.

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Abstract

This paper argues that, contrary to the views of several contemporary observers, American higher education is not becoming more homogeneous but more diverse. Higher educational institutions vary widely in their organizational structures, purposes and goals, and governance patterns. In order to compare these diverse institutions systematically, the Stanford Project on Academic Governance established a typology consisting of eight broad categories. These categories are shown to vary systematically on organizational features affecting diversity: environmental relations, complexity of professional task, and institutional size and complexity. It is predicted that the different categories of institutions, reflecting different organizational features, will have different governance patterns, which in turn will affect both faculty morale and the kinds of policy-influencing activities faculty members engage in.

DIVERSITY IN ACADEMIC GOVERNANCE PATTERNS

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An analysis of academic governance in the United States must begin by confronting the bewildering diversity of institutional patterns. There are many different institutional forms, different sets of environmental pressures, different professional configurations, and different goals in American higher education. There is startling diversity in the range from major universities to community colleges, medical schools to technical schools, institutions with graduate schools to liberal arts colleges, massive multiversities to proprietary business schools. It is virtually impossible to make reasonable statements about institutional patterns that apply universally.

Not only do institutions have widely different structures and purposes, but they also have widely different governance patterns.

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Some are dominated by strong presidents; some have strong faculty and collegial participation; some allow students a strong voice in the decision-making process; some are bound by state system regulations and have little decision-making latitude; some are virtually dominated by the local communities that they serve. Any adequate understanding of academic governance in America must take this hodgepodge of institutional styles into account.

These major differences between institutions seem obvious even to the most naive observer. Nevertheless, most studies of academic governance have been extremely narrow in scope, often ignoring the complexity of the system. Research on academic governance has characteristically fallen into two patterns: (1) case studies of a single institution and its decision-making processes, and (2) studies based on small, nonrepresentative samples covering only a small segment of higher education. Of course, focusing on a single segment permits one to investigate it in depth. But the richness and depth of the data provided by narrowly focused studies should more often be supplemented by studies based on samples that cover the whole spectrum of American higher education. For this purpose the Stanford Project on Academic Governance surveyed the entire higher educational spectrum, from community colleges through the elite institutions with graduate schools.

The Debate Over Diversity

The assertion that American higher education is extremely diverse and complex is being challenged by several contemporary observers

and national commissions. These critics suggest that there is now a tendency toward increasing homogeneity. It may be useful to summarize the pros and cons of the argument, since they have important policy implications, as we shall see.

Arguments for Homogeneity

At least three factors have been identified as promoting more homogeneity in higher education: (1) "institutional imitation," a process by which institutions lower on the academic scale try to imitate those above; (2) the shift from private education to public; and (3) the movement of previously unique institutions that have served specialized clienteles into the mainstream, and the opening of their doors to a broader spectrum of students.

Institutional imitation. In The Academic Revolution (1968) Christopher Jencks and Davis Riesman argue that there is a strong pattern of imitation in higher education. Institutions with less prestige tend to imitate those with more prestige: community colleges frequently expand their programs to offer a bachelor's degree; four-year colleges expand to offer a master's degree; and colleges with master's degree programs look forward to the day they can offer the doctorate. Reisman and Jencks suggest that until recently there have been many forces promoting diversity, including religious, political, ethnic, social class, and geographic differences in institutions and their clienteles. However, they believe that today there are strong economic and professional pressures that have gradually obscured the diversity. In order

to prepare people to enter the economic mainstream, colleges have tended to imitate each other, gradually developing similar programs and similar clienteles. Observing the history of higher education, Jencks and Riesman argue:

> The local college was local first and a college second; the Catholic college was Catholic first and a college second; the Negro college was Negro first and a college second, and so forth. But as time went on these disparate institutions took on lives and purposes of their own. Undergraduates thought of themselves less as future women, Baptists, or teachers and more often simply as students, having a common interest with students in all sorts of other places called colleges rather than with girls, Baptists, or teachers who were not students. Similar changes have taken place at the faculty level. Even the college president of today often thinks of himself less as the president of a college in San Jose, a college catering to the rich, or a college for Irish Catholics than as the president of an academically first-rate, second-rate, or third-rate college. Such a man's reference group is no longer the traditional clientele and patrons of his institution or the trustees who will speak for them, but the presidents of other colleges, many of which had historically different origins and aims. The result is convergence of aims, methods, and, probably, results. [Jencks & Riesman, 1968, p. 25.]

Jencks and Riesman summarize their point by saying, "Our overall feeling is that homogenization is proceeding faster than differentiation"(p. 154).

The Newman Reports (Newman et al., 1971, 1973) agree that because of institutional imitation and other factors, American higher education is growing more homogeneous. The 1971 report argues that the options for American students are being closed, that academic programs are growing more similar all the time, and that new students with new interests

cannot find a unique home in the increasingly similar American institutions:

> American higher education is renowned for its diversity. Yet, in fact, our colleges and universities have become extraordinarily similar. Nearly all 2,500 institutions have adopted the same mode of teaching and learning. Nearly all strive to perform the same generalized educational mission. The traditional sources of differentiation--between public and private, large and small, secular and sectarian, male and female--are disappearing. Even the differences in character of individual institutions are fading. It is no longer true that most students have real choices among differing institutions in which to seek a higher education.
>
> Colleges and universities are, to be sure, not the only American institutions which have become homogenized; changes in American society have dramatically altered the mission, size, and character of many important institutions. But the growing uniformity of higher education institutions should command special attention. [Newman et al., 1971, pp. 12, 16.]

The shift from private to public. Homogeneity may also be promoted by the shift from private to public institutions. Over the last fifty years there has been a steady movement of students from the private into the public sector. In 1900 the majority of students in higher education were enrolled in private institutions; today close to 60 percent are enrolled in public institutions. Many observers argue that the diversity of American higher education is being correspondingly reduced, that the unique programs offered by private institutions are gradually being obliterated, and that state schools display disconcerting similarity. Thus the shift toward state dominance of higher

education may reinforce the trend toward homogeneity that institutional imitation has already started.

The movement of distinctive colleges into the academic mainstream. In his book The Demise of Diversity (1974), C. Robert Pace reports on a study in which he compared a group of people who had graduated from college in 1950 with a group who had graduated in 1970. He concluded that the 1970 group had had a more homogeneous education than the 1950 group. He also examined several different types of colleges and suggested that many of them have lost their unique character and moved into the mainstream of American higher education. In particular, he noted that the elite liberal arts colleges and the state colleges have grown less distinctive in their missions and programs.

Some of Pace's findings seem questionable, however. First, his sample totally excluded community colleges, thus eliminating a very diverse student population. Second, he admits that though students' experiences in college had become more homogeneous, the outcomes in terms of student attitudes and skills had actually become more diverse. It is hard to see how an argument for increased homogeneity can be made if the outcomes are actually more heterogeneous. Pace himself suggests that "the case for arguing that there has been a general decline in diversity and distinctiveness does not on the surface appear to be strongly convincing. But beneath the surface there is reason for believing that the case is more convincing" (p. 130). In general, we find the former part of Pace's statement to be more convincing than the latter; that is, it appears that his own data indicate a strong

element of complexity and diversity in American higher education.

Arguments Against Homogeneity

The argument that educational homogeneity is increasing may seem persuasive. There is, indeed, much institutional imitation; state institutions are increasingly displacing private ones; and many distinctive types of institutions have now moved into the academic mainstream. In spite of these facts, however, there are several flaws in the argument for homogeneity.

Historical trends. In the history of higher education, as some institutions have moved up the ladder of academic prestige, there has always been a proliferation of other institutions below. The widespread growth of community and junior colleges in this country over the last two decades is hardly a sign of increasing homogeneity. In addition, there are many new kinds of technical institutions, expanding education in industrial settings, and an upsurge of proprietary institutions. These developments are simply not consonant with a trend toward educational homogeneity. Thus, in spite of imitation and state control, the differences between institutions are increasing rather than decreasing.

It was because of the obvious difference between colleges that the Carnegie Commission on Higher Education felt compelled to commission in-depth studies of unique segments of American academic life. In that effort Pace (1972) developed a profile of Protestant colleges; Astin and Lee (1972) examined small, private institutions with limited resources, which they called the "invisible colleges"; Bowles and DeCosta (1971) examined Negro higher education; Fein and Weber (1971)

examined medical education; Dunham (1969) compiled a profile of state colleges and regional universities; and Greeley (1969) focused on Catholic higher education. To be sure, there were some signs of increased homogeneity (e.g., the Catholic colleges were losing some of their distinctiveness), but on the whole there were plenty of signs of a robust, dynamic institutional diversity.

Of course, as we enter a period of steady enrollments and diminished resources, the proliferation of new institutions may slow down. However, the thrust toward diversity still seems strong, especially in the proprietary institutions and the community colleges. The future may bring more homogeneity, as critics are predicting; however, the historical trends have moved in the opposite direction.

Diversity within institutions. Not only has there been substantial diversity between institutions, but there has also been a growing diversity within institutions. In fact, since the Second World War there has been an astonishing proliferation of technical training efforts, academic subjects, research efforts, and degree-granting programs within institutions. Increased size has been a major factor in this internal differentiation, for a large enrollment makes it possible to support specialized programs. Those who speak of institutional homogeneity have been short-sighted in failing to examine the proliferation of options within the multiversity campuses. We do not agree that program and career options have been decreased within institutions; on the contrary, any systematic examination of college catalogs from twenty years ago and today would suggest just the opposite.

International comparisons. In this debate we must constantly ask the critical question: Is the American higher educational system more or less diverse, compared to what? We have already suggested that compared to higher education in earlier historical periods, the current system of higher education is more diverse. In addition, the American higher educational system is more diverse compared to systems elsewhere in the world. No other system has so large a percentage of students from as diverse socioeconomic, racial, and academic backgrounds as the United States. No other system approaches the institutional diversity to be found in the American system, with its complex multiversities, state colleges, liberal arts colleges, community colleges, and private junior colleges. No other system has such diverse sources of funding as the American system, which is supported by federal, state, foundation, tuition, and church money combined. In short, by any reasonable measure the American higher educational system is more complex, diverse, and fragmented than any other higher educational system in the world.

The effects of public control. The critics say that more public control over higher educational institutions will lead to more homogeneity, but this is not necessarily true. Surely there is enormous diversity in both the public and the private sector, and the mere bookkeeping fact that more students are attending publicly supported institutions does not necessarily imply that those institutions will exhibit less diversity. In fact, there is strong reason to suspect that increasing public control may actually lead to more diversity.

The phenomenon of institutional imitation is most apparent in the

private universities. By contrast, as state systems have developed, they have generally tried to formulate policies that enforce some degree of diversity among public institutions. For example, the California Master Plan defines the unique roles of the community colleges, the state colleges and universities, and the University of California system. In other states with strong system management, such as Illinois and Wisconsin, the state central management has played a central role in promoting diversity among its institutions. In many ways the state systems are major promoters of diversity, for the private institutions have been more susceptible to the imitation phenomenon.

Factors on which diversity is measured. One of the biggest problems presented by the literature is a confusion over what factors are being measured to determine diversity or homogeneity. Do the critics mean that higher education has a more homogeneous clientele than it once did--that students are drawn from a narrower segment of society? Obviously not, for the clientele is clearly more diverse than it has ever been. Do the critics mean that the programs offered within institutions have become more homogeneous--that is, more limited? This interpretation does not seem reasonable either. Do the critics mean that the outcomes of education all seem the same--that graduates now have a narrower range of skills and job opportunities than they once did? Again, this is surely not the case. Do the critics mean that the governance patterns in education have grown similar--that decision-making processes and formal control systems are all alike? Clearly, this is not the case, as our research and many other studies have strongly demonstrated.

We do not believe that the system has grown less diverse on any of these factors or on any other important factors that we can identify. Part of the problem seems to be a slippage of terminology. For example, some observers (e.g., Jencks and Riesman) have pointed to the phenomenon of institutional imitation as evidence of increasing homogeneity. If one looks at the total system of higher education, however, it seems apparent that there is a strong proliferation of new institutions as others move up in the system. That is, to say that an individual institution has become more like other institutions is not necessarily to say that the whole system has become more homogeneous. We believe that this confusion is at the heart of the debate. Certainly we have seen individual institutions change missions in imitation of others. On the whole, however, the system has still retained a remarkably vigorous ability to spawn new institutions and to generate new options.

Policy and Research Implications of the Debate

It is important to note that almost everyone entering the debate over diversity has an important policy implication at the back of his mind. Those arguing that the system is becoming more homogeneous may see themselves as the liberal vanguard, demanding more diversity in order to meet the needs of more students, create more job opportunities, and achieve new social goals. They see themselves fighting against an entrenched, conservative academic system that tends to force everyone into a similar academic mold. This point of view is implicit in, for example, the Newman Reports, the Carnegie Commission Studies, and studies by K. Patricia Cross. The cry that the system is becoming

more homogeneous is basically a plea for more diversity in order to accommodate more students with new interests and needs--a worthy goal, indeed. Coupled with these concerns there is also the implicit--and often explicit--call for more federal money to promote that diversity.

In short, the complaint that the American system is becoming more homogeneous is primarily a plea for planning, federal money, and support for the diversity that is needed to accommodate new students from different racial and socioeconomic backgrounds, and with different job aspirations. In view of these policy goals, we agree with these powerful social critics that increasing diversity is necessary and should be supported by whatever means are consonant with academic values. But we also believe that the supporting argument should be phrased differently. Rather than base the demand for more diversity on the empirically incorrect statement that homogeneity is increasing, we would take a completely different tack. Historically and internationally, the American educational system has been the most diverse in the world. Given that kind of development, it is logical to argue that we should maintain that momentum and even increase it.

Diversity and public policy about governance. The debate over diversity in higher education which we have discussed at length, is an issue that at first may not seem to have much to do with academic governance. We believe it is critical, however, for if American higher education has become as homogeneous as many of its critics would have us believe, then decision making and policy planning could change substantially. If higher education is really homogeneous, then it is

theoretically possible to impose uniform management and decision-making systems on it. For example, a master planner in state government could propose evaluation procedures, decision processes, mechanisms of fac lty participation, and patterns of student involvement in governance without regard to particular institutional se:tings and circumstances.

This possibility illustrates the danger in the debate over diversity. Those who argue that the American system has become homogeneous are trying to maximize the opportunities offered for new kinds of students. But their efforts could have the unfortunate side effect of convincing policy planners in state and federal government that homogeneous management policies are appropriate for homogeneous institutions. By placing so much emphasis on the development of homogeneity, many leading critics in the educational field may have unwittingly created an atmosphere in which policy planners can begin to enforce even more homogeneity through their management policies, evaluation systems, and accounting processes.

Diversity and the conduct of research. The debate over diversity also has critical research implications. If researchers believe that higher education is homogeneous, they will look for one basic pattern of academic governance. This is, unfortunately, what most researchers have done. If they believe, as we do, that there is broad diversity in higher education, then they will be sensitive to the complexity of their subject and will plan for systematic comparisons across different types of institutions. Because we believe that the system is diverse, we have taken the latter course.

Contemporary Diversity: Establishing a Typology of Institutions

One major task of the Stanford Project on Academic Governance was to establish a meaningful typology that would aid in comparing diverse kinds of institutions. The task was a perplexing one. Where does one draw the line between various kinds of institutions? Obviously, the answer to that question depends on one's interests and the issues that are being explored. One category system makes sense for one purpose; another makes sense for another purpose.

We wanted a category system that would serve two functions. First, it had to be intuitively meaningful to those who work in American higher education. Second, we wanted it to make theoretical sense to the organizational researcher. But what is intuitively meaningful is not always theoretically meaningful.

The Carnegie Commission on Higher Education had already established a typology of American institutions of higher education based on the clustering of similar institutional characteristics: degree offerings, financial support, features of the student body, size, and prestige of research. The Carnegie typology covers the range of American higher education institutions, from elite multiversities with doctoral programs to small, specialized, proprietary colleges. It is relatively complex, consisting of 12 categories with many minor subdivisions and further distinctions between public and private, or a total of 32 distinct categories. Table 1 shows the major categories within the Carnegie typology, but not the subcategories.

TABLE 1

Institutional Typology: Stanford Project on Academic Governance

Carnegie Commissions: Basic Categories	Stanford Project Categories	Number in SPAG sample	Defining Criteria Applied to SPAG Sample									
			Formal Control		Federal Research Money		Ph.D.'s Awarded per Year				Enrollment	
			Public	Private	Among 100 leading univers.	Minimum $3 million	Minimum of 40	Minimum of 20	Minimum of 10	Few or none	Minimum of 2,000	Minimum of 1,000
Research University I	Private Multiversity	6		x	x	x		x			x	
Research University II Ph.D. Granting University I	Public Multivsesity	13	x		x		x				x	
Liberal Arts I Ph.D. Granting II (private)	Elite Liberal Arts	25		x					x			
Ph.D. Granting II (public) Comp. Univ. & College I	Public Comprehensives	40	x						x		x	
Comp. Univ. & College II	Public Colleges	16	x									x
Comp. Univ. & College I Liberal Arts II Spec. Institute	Private Liberal Arts	85		x						x		
2-year Colleges & Institutes	Community Colleges	96	x							x		
	Private Junior Colleges	19		x								

Note: A total of 249 institutions were actually sampled. Two-year colleges were weighted according to their percentage of the total number of institutions to arrive at a sample N of 300.

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The Governance Project's Typology

In the Stanford Project on Academic Governance we thought that there would be a great advantage in using the Carnegie typology, since adopting this standard would allow comparative work by other researchers. But we found that the very complex Carnegie typology with its fine nuances did not serve our purpose. As a result, we collapsed the 12 Carnegie categories down to eight, as Table 1 shows. In general, the Stanford Project's revision maintains the overall outline of the Carnegie typology while reducing its complex maze of categories to a more manageable number. Every higher educational institution in the United States had been categorized by the Carnegie Commission, and using their data we could easily determine which of our enlarged categories each institution fitted into.

The eight categories are in keeping with both of our research goals. First, they are intuitively meaningful to the average observer of higher education, being both distinct enough and broad enough in coverage to be easily recognizable by almost everyone. Second, they have excellent properties from the standpoint of our organizational theory, for they vary almost perfectly on the three major organizational factors we are concerned about: environmental relationships, complexity of professional task, and institutional size and complexity. Each category is described below.

1. Private multiversity. Among the most elite institutions in the country, the private multiversities are large, highly prestigious institutions that by the Carnegie definition awarded at least 20 Ph.D.'s

(or M.D.'s, if the medical school is on the same campus) and received at least $3,000,000 in federal financial support in 1970-71. These institutions have an elite faculty with complex research and teaching responsibilities. Their graduate programs are the leading ones in the country, and their extensive research programs are highly regarded. Some examples are Cornell, Harvard, Princeton, Stanford, and Yale universities.

2. Public multiversity. At the apex of the state systems stand the giant and prestigious public multiversities--the University of California at Berkeley, the universities of Illinois, Michigan, Minnesota, Washington, Wisconsin, and so on. As the public counterparts of the private multiversities, these institutions have many similar characteristics. They are extremely large, usually having student bodies numbering above 20,000. They receive enormous amounts of federal research money and have highly prestigious graduate programs and elite faculties. The Carnegie Commission specified that in order to fit this category an institution had to grant at least 40 Ph.D.'s each year and be among the top 100 institutions in amount of federal research money received.

3. Elite liberal arts college. In American higher education there have always been some small private liberal arts colleges that are outstanding. Growing out of a strong liberal arts tradition, these institutions have highly trained faculties and high-quality degree programs. Although they do not receive as much federal research money as the multiversities, they nevertheless are strong scholarship and research centers. Normally they are best known for their high-quality

bachelor's programs, but most of them offer some master's degrees and even a few doctor's degrees. To be classified in this type by the Carnegie Commission, an institution had to either award at least 10 Ph.D.'s a year or have an extremely high proportion of graduates continuing elsewhere for Ph.D.'s. Examples of institutions in this category are Dartmouth, Reed, Smith, Swarthmore, and Vassar colleges.

4. Public comprehersive. In the public sector there is an enormous range between the elite multiversities at one extreme and the local community colleges at the other. All of these institutions cannot be reasonably fitted into one category, but at the same time we wanted to avoid a typology that would require extremely subtle differentiation. As a compromise we established two categories for the middle-range public institutions. The public comprehensives make up the upper part of that middle group. These are the solid, middle-quality state institutions that are to be found throughout the United States. In general, their strong point is their bachelor's program, but almost all of them offer some master's or professional programs, and many offer a few doctor's degrees as well. To fit into the Carnegie Commission categories and into our typology, an institution had to have a minimum of 2,000 students, a strong liberal arts program, and at least two professional or master's degree programs. The faculty at these institutions is usually slightly above average in training: about 55 percent have a Ph.D. degree.

5. Public college. In the middle range of public institutions, the public colleges make up the lower part in faculty quality, student

selectivity, and strength of degree programs. Little research is carried out in these institutions, for their chief mission is to provide undergraduate programs for the average American college student. In addition, most of these colleges do offer at least one professional or occupational program such as nursing or teaching. We used this category as a catch-all for public institutions above the community-college level but not qualifying for the category of public comprehensive.

6. Private liberal arts college. The elite private institutions were included in the category Elite Liberal Arts College. All the remaining liberal arts colleges offering at least a bachelor's degree were included in a category called Private Liberal Arts College. There are more institutions of this kind in the country than any other. Like the public colleges, the private liberal arts colleges serve the vast middle-level group of American students who are average in quality and who are primarily seeking bachelor's degrees. Although these institutions normally concentrate on the liberal arts, they usually offer some type of professional training, such as teacher education or nursing. Some offer master's degrees in one or two limited areas, with teaching being the most common. Almost no research is carried on in these institutions, and the faculty ranks in the bottom third; about 30 to 40 percent of the faculty usually have a Ph.D. degree. Since these institutions survive primarily on tuition money, in a period of declining enrollment their admissions criteria are fairly unselective.

7. Community college. Although they are relative newcomers, the public "open-door" community colleges are the fastest growing segment

of American higher education. These institutions offer associate of arts degrees, with both transfer programs into other colleges and technical programs for terminating students. The funding for these institutions is provided either by local districts or by the state, or by a combination of both. No more than a fourth of the faculty at these institutions have Ph.D.'s, and teaching, not research, is their exclusive occupation.

8. Private junior college. Once a thriving segment of higher education, in the last few decades these institutions, which offer A.A. degrees, have been dying out or expanding to offer four-year programs. Most are either church-sponsored institutions serving a selected, church-based clientele, or so-called finishing schools. The formal training of the faculty in these institutions is the lowest in the whole spectrum of American higher education; about 10 percent of the faculty have a Ph.D.

Comments on the Governance Project Typology

Of course, no institutional typology could be satisfactory in every respect. Inevitably there are borderline institutions that could fit into one category just as well as another. There are cases in which the line might be drawn slightly differently and several institutions recategorized. However, the categories we used could not be called arbitrary, and it is surprising how the several different categorization schemes we developed before settling on this one produced essentially similar placements for the same institutions.

Moreover, this typology has several virtues. First, it is intuitively meaningful. Most people would recognize these institutional types and generally feel that the major segments of American higher education have been covered adequately. Second, it has the advantage of having only a few categories. Eight categories are actually a rather large number to work with, but they are substantially more manageable than the 32 categories the Carnegie Commission originally specified. Finally, this typology's most important virtue is its appropriateness for our organizational theory approach, as the following section discusses in greater detail.

Organizational Characteristics Affecting Diversity

What organizational features are most important in influencing the diverse patterns of governance that emerge in American higher education? The potential list is long, but three features stand out as particularly important. First, we cannot understand the process of governance apart from the environment in which an institution exists. The environmental context of financial support, formal control, and relations with other social institutions is an extremely important determinant of institutional decision-making processes. Second, the nature of the professional task often shapes the decision process. We cannot understand how governance is working until we understand what an institution is doing. Institutions with a limited range of tasks, such as colleges that concentrate on undergraduate teaching, have radically different governance patterns from institutions with an extremely diverse and complicated range of tasks. Third, the size and administrative complexity

of an institution greatly affect its style of governance. Small, homogeneous colleges have significantly different governance patterns than huge multiversities.

In the next few pages we will try to define exactly what we mean by the environment, professional task, and size and organizational complexity of American colleges and universities. We measured each feature with a number of different indicators. For example, environmental relations was measured by fifteen separate indicators. Then we used a factor analysis to reduce the number of individual variables to a handful of combined factors. In the case of environmental relations, for example, the fifteen individual variables were reduced to five combined factors. Tables 2, 4, and 6 show exactly how we measured every variable, what the sources of our data were, and how the individual variables were combined into factors.

Our second purpose in this section is to demonstrate that the Stanford typology varies systematically with environment, professional task, and institutional size and complexity. This point is important because it allows us to simplify our analysis considerably. If we had to analyze our data using all of our individual measures, our task would be almost impossible. However, if we can demonstrate that the typology is systematically related to these organizational characteristics, then in most cases we can merely use the typology instead.

Environmental Relations

Although for decades the prime focus of organization theory has been on internal operation, in recent years organization theorists have

become increasingly interested in the impact of the external environment on complex organizations (see Dill, 1958; Thompson & McEwen, 1958; Evan, 1966; Lawrence & Lorsch, 1967; Thompson, 1967; Baldridge, 1971). This interest has been most pronounced among sociologists studying academic organizations, for it is increasingly obvious that many of the most critical decisions for colleges and universities around the nation are being made outside the institutions themselves. The halls of Congress, the governor's office, the state system office, the foundation director's office--these are only a few of the powerful external forces impinging on the academic community from all sides. The student revolution and subsequent public reaction in the mid-1960's weakened the fabric of many academic institutions. Growing state system networks and the trend toward unionization of faculty members are forces that are currently looming large on the environmental horizon. In short, any useful study of academic governance today must take environmental factors into account.

Measures of environmental relations. Table 2 shows the fifteen individual variables clustered statistically into the following five combined factors:

1. Institutional Heritage. This factor combines several measures of the stability, wealth, and general quality of an institution. At first glance, not all these variables may seem to reflect direct relations between an institution and its environment, but we believe that they can be meaningfully classified in this way.

2. Funding Sources. The sources of an institution's funds, whether from the state or from tuition. Included in this factor is an indicator of whether an institution is controlled publicly or privately.

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TABLE 2

Measures of Environmental Relations

Combined factors	Individual variables	Definitions of variables	Sources of data
INSTITUTIONAL HERITAGE	1. Dispersed Cash	If an institution had only a few sources of funds, it had "low" dispersed cash; if not, it had "high" dispersed cash.	President's Questionnaire
	2. Affluence	The institution's total income divided by the number of students	President's Questionnaire for income; College Blue Book for number of students
	3. AAUP Salary Scale	Ranking of salary rates by AAUP	AAUP Journal
	4. AAUP Mean Salary	Reported annual median salary	AAUP Journal
	5. CEEB Selectivity Scale	The CEEB rating of an institution's student selectivity	CEEB data deck
	6. Institutional Age	Number of years that institution has been operational with undergraduate classes enrolled	College Blue Book
	7. Percentage of Federal Money	Percentage of annual funds derived from federal research money	President's Questionnaire
	8. Percentage Endowment	Percentage of annual funds derived from endowment	President's Questionnaire

TABLE 2 (Continued)

Combined factors	Individual variables	Definitions of variables	Sources of data
FUNDING SOURCES	9. Percentage State Money	Percentage of annual funds derived from state money	President's Questionnaire
	10. Public/Private	Formal control of the institution	College Blue Book
	11. Percentage Tuition Money	Percentage of annual funds derived from tuition	President's Questionnaire
LOCAL FUNDS	12. Percentage Local Money	Percentage of annual funds derived from local community college districts or other local sources	President's Questionnaire
CHURCH/FOUNDATION FUNDS	13. Percentage Church Money	Percentage of annual funds derived from church	President's Questionnaire
	14. Percentage Foundation Money	Percentage of annual funds derived from foundation	President's Questionnaire
EXTERNAL/INTERNAL INFLUENCE RATIO	15. External/Internal Influence Ratio	Ratio of influence of all groups external to the institution (community groups, advisory boards, interest groups, trustees) to the influence of all groups internal to the institution (faculty members, department heads, faculty committees)	Individual Questionnaire, "Spheres of Influence" section

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3. Local Funds. The amount of funds derived from local government agencies, such as school districts or community college districts.

4. Church/Foundation Funds. Two indicators about the institution's reliance on church and foundation money.

5. External/Internal Influence Ratio. One set of questions in the individual questionnaire asked people to rate the influence of outside community groups and trustees compared to the influence of insiders--presidents, deans, and department chairmen. A higher score indicates higher outside influence.

The governance project typology and environmental relations. It is obvious from an examination of Table 3 that the different types of institutions in the Stanford typology vary systematically on most of the environmental variables. In general, the institutions at the upper end of the typology obtain their funds from a wider variety of sources (they have a higher "dispersed cash" rating), they are more affluent, they pay their faculties better, and they are more selective in their student admissions. The institutions vary considerably in age and endowment, the private multiversities and elite liberal arts colleges being the oldest and most heavily endowed. All of these different characteristics have been drawn together in the combined factor "institutional heritage."

When we examine funding patterns, the same systematic variation in different types of institutions is evident. First, there is a fairly sharp distinction between the public and private institutions. In general, public institutions get somewhat over half their funds from the state, while private institutions depend much more on tuition and foundation money. The private multiversities are almost unique in their

TABLE 3

Environmental Characteristics: Breakdown by Institutional Types

		Funding Sources			Institutional Heritage								Local Funds	Church/Foundation Funds		External/Internal Influence Ratio
	N	% State Money	Public/Private	% Tuition Money	Dispersed Cash*	Affluence: $ per student	AAUP Salary Scale**	AAUP Mean Salary ($1,000s)	CEEB Selectivity Scale	Age of Institution	% Federal Research Money	% Endowment	% Local Money	% Church Money	% Foundation Money	External/Internal Influence Ratio
Institutional type average for all institutions	300	31		41	.10	2,428	6.1	11.0	2.6	60	1.9	3.5	9.5	3.4	1.4	.62
Private Multiversity	6	2	PRI	35	1.00	9,997	2.5	15.0	4.5	142	27.0	21.0	.2	2.5	6.1	.54
Public Multiversity	13	51	PUB	21	.70	4,914	3.3	13.2	3.8	101	10.0	2.3	.3	0	1.6	.68
Elite Liberal Arts College	25	1	PRI	70	.30	4,907	3.4	11.8	4.5	104	2.1	13.5	0	1.4	2.5	.49
Public Comprehensive	40	65	PUB	26	.27	2,530	3.8	11.1	2.9	69	1.5	.8	1.7	.1	.1	.66
Public College	16	76	PUB	20	.18	3,273	3.8	11.7	3.6	55	1.3	.3	.1	0	.3	.52
Private Liberal Arts College	85	1	PRI	63	.09	2,894	6.4	9.8	3.1	74	.3	4.8	.2	7.2	3.1	.61
Community College	96	50	PUB	15	.02	1,771	8.2	11.5	1.3	24	.9	.4	28.5	.3	0	.68
Private Junior College	19	1	PRI	68	.00	2,183	8.8	8.4	2.6	64	.7	4.1	0	16.6	1.0	.65

*0 = highly concentrated 1 = highly dispersed

**AAUP Bulletin, 1971 Salary Scale, 1 = highest salaries

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dependence on federal research money. Only a handful of institutions receive much support from the churches, even among those that are formally controlled by religious denominations. In general, the funding pattern is just as one might expect: private institutions obtain most of their funds from tuition, state institutions obtain most of theirs from the state, and federal research money goes primarily to the elite multiversities.

Finally, the last column in Table 3 shows the External/Internal Influence Ratio, a measure of the influence of outsiders versus that of insiders, in which a higher score indicates more external influence. In general the figures in this column suggest two patterns: (1) state-related institutions were subject to more outside influence than others; and (2) institutions at the lower end of the typology were subject to more outside influence than those at the higher end. Once again we find that the environmental characteristics vary systematically by the different types of institutions in the Stanford typology.

Characteristics of the Professional Task

We assume that one of the critical differences among higher educational institutions is the nature of their professional tasks. In the academic world there are many different professional tasks, including teaching, research, and community service, among others. It is difficult to measure the variety of activities a college or university might incorporate. In general, however, they can be classified according to the type of academic degree programs an institution offers and the professional qualifications of its faculty. Clearly, this is not

the only way to classify the different tasks of a college or university, but it is an appropriate and significant one. Institutions that offer doctoral programs and have a very high percentage of faculty members with doctoral degrees are generally carrying out complex research, graduate training, and policy analysis as well as undergraduate teaching. At the other extreme, community colleges offering A.A. degrees can be expected to have an entirely different role and activity pattern, confined almost exclusively to undergraduate teaching.

Measures of professional task. As shown in Table 4, we identified four variables that we believed would help define an institution's professional task: (1) the highest degree that the institution offered; (2) the percentage of faculty members with Ph.D.'s; (3) the average combined SAT scores of entering freshman students; and (4) two faculty publication rates--the percentage of faculty having published at least one book, and the percentage having published at least one article. Although these are certainly not the only important variables determining the nature of the professional task, it does seem that institutions that significantly differ on these factors will almost surely differ on most other institutional task characteristics.

The Governance Project typology and professional task expertise. The Stanford institutional typology varies systematically on professional task expertise, as Table 5 shows. The institutions at the upper end of the typology offer doctoral degrees; over three-fourths of their faculty members have a Ph.D. degree; their entering freshman students have extremely high SAT scores; and their faculties have high publication

TABLE 4

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Measures of Professional Task

Combined factor	Individual variables	Definitions of variables	Sources of data
PROFESSIONAL TASK	1. Highest Degree Offered	Each school rated as offering the associate (2-year) degree, the bachelor's degree, the master's or first professional degree, or the doctorate	CEEB data deck
	2. Percentage of Faculty with Ph.D.	Percentage of faculty with Ph.D. or equivalent doctorate	Individual Questionnaire
	3. Combined SAT Scores	Mean-average combined SAT scores of freshmen entering the institution in 1972	College Blue Book
(These items not in combined factor)	4. Percentage of Faculty with book Published	Percentage of faculty who have published at least one book	Individual Questionnaire
	5. Percentage of Faculty with Article Published	Percentage of faculty who have published at least one article	Individual Questionnaire

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TABLE 5

Professional Task Expertise Characteristics:
Breakdown by Institutional Type

	N	Professional Task Expertise				
		Highest Degree Offered*	% Faculty with Ph.D.	Combined Student SAT Scores	% Faculty with Published Book	% Faculty with Published Article
	300	2.0	39	929	16	12
Private Multiversity	6	4.0	82	1223	48	49
Public Multiversity	13	4.0	77	1010	33	38
Elite Liberal Arts College	25	2.7	69	1185	26	18
Public Comprehensive	40	3.0	53	917	19	13
Public College	16	2.6	55	999	20	13
Private Liberal Arts College	85	2.2	44	937	15	12
Community College	96	1.0	15	828	10	5
Private Junior College	19	1.0	12	889	61	7

*1 = A.A.; 2 = B.A.; 3 = M.A.; 4 = Ph.D. or other doctoral degree.

rates. Those at the lower end of the typology--the community colleges and private junior colleges--offer only the A.A. degree; few of their faculty members have a Ph.D degree; their students have the lowest SAT scores; and there is very little publication by their faculties. Between these two extremes the complexity of the professional task usually increases with every step up the typology. There is a strong correlation between an institution's place in the typology and its professional task expertise indicators.

Institutional Size and Complexity

Organization theorists in recent years have intensively studied the impact of an organization's size on its decision-making processes and structural features (see Blau, 1970; Boland, 1971; Baldridge et al., 1973). It is now well established that the larger an organization is, the more complex its decision-making processes and its departmental and administrative structure are likely to be. The amount of decentralization in an organization, the degree of conflict between subunits, the development of complex decision-making networks, and other aspects of its decision-making processes are highly dependent on its size and complexity.

It is also commonly believed that increased size and complexity lead to greater bureaucratization, lower staff morale, and less involvement of the staff in the decision-making process. In our research, however, we have found the opposite to be true: large, complex institutions offer their professional staff members more autonomy and a greater voice in decision-making than small ones. This finding might

be explained in part by the fact that large institutions typically have more highly trained faculties. But when we examine institutions with similar faculties, we still find that the larger ones offer more faculty autonomy. By contrast, small institutions tend to be dominated by administrators and by outside power groups; their faculties have much less autonomy and much less influence over decision-making.

Measures of institutional size and complexity. As Table 6 shows, we selected five indicators of institutional size and complexity: (1) number of faculty members, full and part-time, (2) number of full-time-equivalent students, (3) number of departments, (4) number of internal schools or colleges (e.g. law school, college of education), and (5) the total number of structural units--departments, schools, and institutes. All these measures are highly correlated (r = approximately .90); when the size of an institution's student body increases, the size of its faculty and its structural complexity increase proportionately.

The Governance Project typology and institutional size and complexity. The Stanford typology also varies fairly systematically with measures of size and complexity, as Table 7 indicates. In general, institutions at the higher end of the typology are larger, though the elite liberal arts colleges tend to be somewhat smaller than the public institutions just below them. Aside from that one exception, there is a strong correlation between an institution's place in the typology and its size and complexity.

TABLE 6

Measures of Institutional Size and Complexity

Combined factor	Individual variables	Definition of variables	Sources of data
INSTITUTIONAL SIZE AND COMPLEXITY	1. Number of Faculty	Total number of full and part-time faculty members	College Blue Book
	2. Number of Students	Total number of full-time-equivalent students	College Blue Book
	3. Number of Departments	Total number of departments	College catalogs
	4. Number of Schools and Colleges	Total number of internal schools and colleges	College catalogs
	5. Number of Structural Units	Total number of departments, schools, and institutes	College catalogs

The Governance Project Typology and Organizational Characteristics

From the above discussion it is obvious that the different types of institutions in the Stanford Project's typology vary systematically on the three basic organizational characteristics we have identified: environmental relations, professional task, and institutional size and complexity. This finding simplifies much of the data analysis, for in making predictions about how the organizational characteristics will affect governance, we can generally achieve satisfactory results by showing the relationship between institutional types and governance patterns instead of treating each organizational characteristic individually. It may be useful, however, to see the intercorrelations of the indicators of environment, task, and size. Table 8 gives that information.

TABLE 7

Institutional Size and Complexity Characteristics:
Breakdown by Institutional Types

	N	Institutional Size and Complexity				
		No. Faculty	No. Students	No. Departments	No. Schools and Colleges	No. Structural Units
Average for All Institutions	300	193	3,010	21	7	27
Private Multiversity	6	1248	11,710	61	9	60
Public Multiversity	13	1110	17,920	65	10	82
Elite Liberal Arts College	25	143	1,880	22	5	23
Public Comprehensive	40	272	5,100	25	5	31
Public College	16	204	2,220	20	3	19
Private Liberal Arts College	85	84	1,130	17	3	17
Community College	96	111	2,200	17	0	30
Private Junior College	19	39	600	9	0	7

TABLE 8

Intercorrelations Among Organizational Characteristics

		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
SPAG-type	1	1	-.08	-.07	-.21	.75	.49	.55	.57	-.13	.83	.77
EXTERNAL RELATIONS												
*Private control & funding	2			.06	-.01	.02	.35	.17	.31	-.21	.10	.07
*Church/foundation funding	3				.09	.08	-.08	.09	.05	.05	-.07	.06
*Local funding	4					-.01	-.20	-.02	-.29	.16	-.29	-.29
*Heritage & revenue	5						.64	.69	.69	-.20	.78	.70
Institutional age	6							.49	.54	-.21	.58	.55
Affluence	7								.51	-.23	.58	.52
CEEB selection scale	8									-.30	.71	.66
External/internal ratio	9										-.21	-.18
EXPERTISE												
*Task expertise	10											.94
Highest degree offered	11											
% Ph.D. faculty	12											
Combined SAT scores	13											
SIZE/COMPLEXITY												
*Size/complexity	14											
Total # faculty	15											
Total # depts.	16											
STANDARDIZE REGULATIONS												
*Standardized regulations	17											
Contract standardization	18											
Regulate courses taught	19											
Travel regulations	20											
DECISION												
Restrict course offerings	21											
Centralize inst. decisions	22											
Peer evaluation	23											
DEPARTMENTAL AUTONOMY												
*Dept. autonomy	24											
Dept. centralization	25											
Dept. autonomy/select faculty	26											
Dept. autonomy/promote faculty	27											
*Dept. budget allocation	28											
Dept. autonomy in budget	29											
INDEX												
Professional autonomy index	30											
SENATES												
Admissions policy	31											
Curriculum	32											
Degree requirements	33											
Dept. budget	34											
Faculty selection	35											
Faculty promotions	36											
Faculty salaries	37											
Work conditions	38											
Long-range plans	39											
Time in existence	40											
MORALE												
*Morale factor	41											
Trust in administration	42											
Satisfaction: Work conditions	43											
Institutional identification	44											
INACTIVE/FORMAL												
*Inactive/formal	45											
Inactive	46											
Formal	47											
Lead faculty committee	48											
MILITANT ATTITUDES												
*Militant attitudes	49											
Urge collective negotiations	50											
Urge strike	51											
Urge militancy	52											
Have union by 1974	53											
MILITANT ACTIONS												
*Militant actions	54											
Militant behavior	55											
Strike	56											
Picket	57											
Withhold services	58											

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12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29
.76	.60	.65	.62	.63	-.50	-.43	-.41	-.55	-.31	-.12	-.47	.43	.22	.51	.43	-.12	.09
.15	.26	-.24	-.23	-.19	-.21	.21	-.25	-.35	-.21	-.17	-.06	-.34	-.11	-.25	-.27	.30	.29
-.06	-.08	-.01	.01	-.00	-.08	.09	-.11	-.09	-.10	-.05	-.12	-.28	-.27	-.24	-.11	.08	.04
-.25	-.16	.00	-.01	-.03	.00	.02	-.00	.08	.01	.01	.00	-.04	-.16	-.02	-.01	-.11	-.13
.74	.71	.60	.58	.59	-.59	-.36	-.49	-.64	-.42	-.16	.47	.31	.10	.43	.37	-.09	.10
.53	.56	.30	.33	.29	-.36	-.12	-.30	-.47	-.34	-.13	.19	.12	.12	.19	.17	.17	.26
.56	160	.39	.38	.40	-.49	-.23	-.40	-.56	-.36	-.14	37	.14	.03	.24	.22	.04	.20
.68	.69	.30	.28	.34	-.55	-.28	-.43	-.60	-.40	-.25	.38	.10	-.04	.25	.13	.02	.19
-.24	-.33	.03	-.02	-.00	.45	.06	.24	.38	.35	.68	-.22	-.04	.11	-.21	-.10	-.29	-.34
.94	.67	.58	.56	.59	-.58	-.34	-.50	-.62	-.46	-.14	.46	.35	.17	.46	.36	.02	.20
.78	.57	.57	.56	.57	-.46	-.30	-.37	-.53	-.38	-.08	.42	.35	.23	.42	.34	-.00	.16
	.67	.49	.46	.50	-.62	-.33	-.55	-.64	-.48	-.19	.46	.30	.11	.43	.33	.04	.23
		.32	.32	.34	-.63	-.31	-.48	-.66	-.39	-.28	.47	.14	-.10	.32	.17	.01	.22
			.91	.97	-.31	-.32	-.24	-.32	-.25	.01	.33	.47	.18	.48	.54	-.11	.02
				.80	-.27	-.31	-.18	-.30	-.25	.04	.31	.46	.20	.46	.52	-.10	.01
					-.35	-.32	-.28	-.35	-.25	-.04	.34	.42	.13	.45	.51	-.10	.03
						.37	.85	.77	.65	.61	-.66	-.07	.42	-.40	-.24	-.07	-.33
							.22	.27	.14	.16	-.28	-.19	.04	-.27	-.21	-.39	-.13
								.57	.48	.35	-.48	.09	.32	-.19	-.11	-.02	-.24
									.46	.37	-.46	-.08	.14	-.29	-.16	-.00	-.21
										.37	-.27	-.13	.14	-.29	-.24	-.41	-.40
											-.26	.03	.39	-.23	-.14	-.23	-.30
												.25	-.12	.45	.29	-.24	.08
													.52	.93	.75	-.03	.01
														.28	.25	-.01	-.09
															.70	-.01	.11
																-.02	.03
																	.91

TABLE 8 (continued)

	30	31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	40
SPAG-type	1 .65	-.08	.06	.06	.28	.12	-.14	.08	.17	-.05	-.29
EXTERNAL RELATIONS											
*Private control & funding	2 .04	.06	.09	.20	-.01	.01	-.17	-.03	.13	.02	.13
*Church/foundation funding	3-.06	-.03	-.02	.02	.15	.01	-.07	.05	.08	-.07	.02
*Local funding	4-.03	-.05	-.11	-.02	-.01	0	-.20	-.02	.02	-.03	.05
*Heritage & revenue	5 .68	.07	-.08	-.07	-.21	-.01	.15	-.11	-.16	-.06	.33
Institutional age	6 .40	.11	-.08	.01	-.12	.01	.06	-.05	.06	-.04	.25
Affluence	7 .52	.03	-.05	-.05	-.18	-.16	.02	-.07	-.09	0	.21
CEEB selection scale	8 .53	.11	.06	.03	-.23	-.03	.14	-.05	-.15	.10	.24
External/internal ratio	9-.37	-.18	-.13	-.13	-.09	.10	-.01	.07	.01	.03	-.04
EXPERTISE											
*Task expertise	10 .69	.10	-.03	-.05	-.30	-.10	.21	-.10	-.22	.02	.32
Highest degree offered	11 .60	.02	-.07	-.08	-.29	-.09	.15	-.06	-.19	.01	.31
% Ph.D. faculty	12 .70	.18	.03	.01	-.25	-.08	.27	-.12	-.23	.03	.30
Combined SAT scores	13 .61	.06	-.03	.02	-.22	-.09	.02	-.06	-.12	.01	.23
SIZE/COMPLEXITY											
*Size/complexity	14 .52	-.02	.19	.21	.25	.07	-.07	.09	.27	.02	-.25
Total # faculty	15 .48	.01	-.19	-.20	-.24	-.09	.04	-.12	-.27	-.04	.26
Total # depts.	16 .52	.04	-.16	-.17	-.24	-.06	.12	-.05	-.26	0	.25
STANDARDIZE REGULATIONS											
*Standardized regulations	17-.84	-.15	-.13	-.10	.14	.02	-.08	.21	.22	-.08	-.23
Contract standardization	18-.34	-.01	-.02	.05	.22	0	-.21	.12	.26	-.09	-.04
Regulate courses taught	19-.68	-.15	-.15	-.13	.07	-.05	-.10	.15	.21	-.04	-.22
Travel regulations	20-.71	-.13	-.06	-.05	.13	.07	-.03	.14	.10	0	-.29
DECISION											
Restrict course offerings	21-.65	-.02	-.04	-.03	-.20	-.13	-.11	-.14	-.15	-.05	.06
Centralize inst. decisions	22-.42	-.16	-.25	-.22	-.06	-.06	-.14	.08	-.07	-.13	-.06
Peer evaluation	23 .74	.03	-.02	-.08	-.23	-.11	.05	-.24	-.28	.02	.19
DEPARTMENTAL AUTONOMY											
*Dept. autonomy	24 .51	.07	-.09	-.12	-.16	-.05	.15	-.12	-.13	.11	-.08
Dept. centralization	25-.04	-.09	-.19	-.18	-.13	-.12	.05	.03	.03	-.13	-.12
Dept. autonomy/select faculty	26 .73	.13	0	0.05	-.17	-.02	.18	-.16	-.17	.16	-.01
Dept. autonomy/promote faculty	27 .59	.09	-.06	-.03	-.12	-.06	.11	-.16	-.15	.06	.01
*Dept. budget allocation	28 .03	.13	.11	.13	-.03	-.12	-.15	-.11	-.11	.11	.10
Dept. autonomy in budget	29 .26	.09	.07	.12	.05	-.11	-.23	-.02	.04	.06	-.01
INDEX											
Professional autonomy index	30	.12	.02	-.01	-.23	-.08	.09	-.25	-.26	.06	.19
SENATES											
Admissions policy	31		.40	.42	.23	.22	.25	.20	.19	.40	.12
Curriculum	32			.86	.23	.26	.22	-.02	.16	.47	.12
Degree requirements	33				.20	.32	.12	.01	.21	.44	.17
Dept. budget	34					.41	.12	.33	.29	.26	-.13
Faculty selection	35						.39	.25	.37	.18	.11
Faculty promotion	36							.29	.15	.09	.08
Faculty salaries	37								.47	.15	-.14
Work conditions	38									.06	.02
Long-range plans	39										.07
Time in existence	40										
MORALE											
*Morale factor	41										
Trust in administration	42										
Satisfaction: Work conditions	43										
Institutional identification	44										
INACTIVE/FORMAL											
*Inactive/formal	45										
Inactive	46										
Formal	47										
Lead faculty committee	48										
MILITANT ATTITUDES											
*Militant attitudes	49										
Urge collective negotiations	50										
Urge strike	51										
Urge militancy	52										
Have union by 1974	53										
MILITANT ACTIONS											
*Militant actions	54										
Militant behavior	55										
Strike	56										
Picket	57										
Withhold services	58										

41	42	43	44	45	46	47	48	49	50	51	52	53	54	55	56	57	58
.32	.15	.39	-.28	.10	.01	.18	.10	.19	.34	.04	.02	.15	-.02	.10	-.11	-.12	-.07
.16	.14	.13	.10	.10	-.16	.13	-.04	-.33	-.31	-.28	-.09	-.26	.00	-.10	-.01	.11	-.05
-.02	.09	-.12	.21	-.07	.02	-.01	-.08	-.28	-.21	-.28	-.21	-.22	.11	-.17	-.15	-.11	-.13
-.03	-.05	.00	.22	.01	-.01	-.04	.01	.13	.29	.16	-.01	-.02	.18	.20	.19	.19	.20
.39	.23	.41	-.21	-.09	.04	-.14	-.08	-.20	-.34	-.05	-.04	-.09	.18	.05	.15	.17	.08
.35	.22	.36	.08	-.04	.03	-.12	-.03	-.29	-.40	-.21	-.02	-.17	.06	-.11	.04	.02	-.02
.36	.24	.36	-.17	-.10	.03	-.12	-.10	-.25	-.35	-.14	-.04	-.14	.08	-.04	.05	.07	.00
.35	.24	.34	-.12	-.02	-.04	-.03	-.04	-.30	-.42	-.17	-.05	-.12	.13	.01	.09	.07	.02
-.43	-.45	-.27	-.06	-.25	.08	-.19	-.20	.37	.30	.24	.42	.04	.09	.07	-.06	-.04	-.04
.33	.17	.37	-.24	-.07	-.00	-.17	-.04	-.24	-.42	-.07	-.05	-.16	.13	-.02	.10	.09	.07
.25	.12	.29	-.19	-.11	.01	-.18	-.10	-.18	-.36	-.03	-.01	-.11	.12	-.01	.10	.08	.09
.36	.21	.39	-.25	-.01	-.06	-.11	-.01	-.26	-.45	-.09	-.07	-.19	.13	-.02	.09	.09	.06
.45	.23	.52	-.17	.00	-.06	-.10	.01	-.25	-.35	-.16	-.07	-.14	.07	-.05	.06	.01	-.03
.14	-.00	.23	.15	-.22	.18	-.21	-.13	.01	-.07	.10	.02	-.04	.12	.07	.10	.12	.12
.13	.00	.21	-.15	-.24	.17	-.20	-.18	.00	-.08	.10	.06	-.03	.16	.09	.14	.17	.14
.16	.03	.24	-.13	-.21	.16	-.20	-.11	-.02	-.10	.06	-.02	-.06	.09	.03	.07	.08	.09
-.49	-.40	-.41	-.01	-.08	.15	.04	.10	.35	.38	.18	.25	.13	-.16	.02	-.13	-.10	-.05
-.08	-.01	-.12	.02	.21	-.14	.14	.19	-.01	.02	.04	.01	.03	-.03	-.01	-.04	-.04	.05
-.39	-.32	-.33	.02	-.06	.14	.10	-.08	.36	.39	.20	.15	.17	-.13	.08	-.10	-.08	-.05
-.37	-.28	-.34	.11	.05	.02	.05	.06	.33	.41	.15	.14	.19	-.20	-.06	-.16	-.12	-.11
-.33	-.29	-.26	-.03	-.04	.08	.04	-.06	.27	.31	.20	.20	.20	.03	.05	.06	.07	.09
-.56	-.58	-.35	-.21	-.27	.21	-.20	-.23	.41	.31	.31	.51	.09	.03	.15	.05	.08	.12
.19	.06	.26	-.10	.07	-.16	-.07	.09	.05	-.03	.22	.04	.17	.33	.28	.31	.33	.27
.00	-.12	.13	-.25	-.05	-.00	-.04	-.07	.27	.13	.37	.20	.20	.23	.26	.25	.26	.20
-.17	-.24	-.04	-.30	-.09	.06	-.05	-.14	.25	.10	.28	.31	.07	.13	.15	.12	.16	.14
.18	.04	.26	-.21	.00	-.04	-.01	-.01	.14	.01	.29	.06	.18	.26	.24	.27	.27	.19
.12	.05	.15	-.12	-.03	-.03	-.11	.00	.04	-.04	.14	.07	.04	.16	.12	.15	.17	.12
.26	.28	.15	.05	.16	-.13	.10	.11	-.24	-.26	-.24	-.25	-.16	-.16	-.22	-.18	-.20	-.16
.34	.31	.26	.01	.13	-.15	.05	.09	-.26	-.31	-.20	-.23	-.14	-.06	-.14	-.08	-.10	-.08
.38	.25	.39	-.14	.03	-.13	.09	.04	-.16	-.27	.04	-.07	-.03	.26	.13	.24	.23	.17
.18	.13	.17	.08	.06	0	.03	.01	-.14	-.02	-.14	-.15	-.15	.01	-.01	-.02	.03	-.07
.01	.06	-.95	.03	.20	-.18	.19	.13	-.06	-.06	-.02	-.17	-.01	.01	.05	.01	.04	-.13
.05	.06	.01	.09	.17	-.15	.11	.11	-.15	-.07	-.12	-.18	-.12	0	-.02	.02	-.02	-.13
-.08	.02	-.16	.15	.15	-.04	.11	.16	-.10	.08	-.07	-.12	.04	.06	-.04	.08	.06	.04
0	.09	-.11	.07	0	.04	-.01	.02	-.03	.01	-.08	-.11	.05	-.06	.01	-.05	-.07	-.12
.02	.06	-.03	-.10	0	.01	-.13	.09	.06	-.06	.11	.01	.08	.08	.12	.04	.12	.06
.08	.14	0	.26	.01	.02	-.07	.02	-.23	.05	-.32	-.10	-.18	-.13	-.16	-.13	-.14	-.11
.13	.17	.04	.24	.15	-.09	.07	.10	-.19	.02	-.29	-.20	-.12	-.18	-.19	-.16	-.19	-.24
.04	.02	.04	.10	.11	-.12	.12	.06	-.10	.03	-.04	-.15	-.06	.09	.04	.10	.07	.03
.11	.10	.08	.01	-.07	.10	-.16	.02	-.23	-.24	-.12	-.11	-.12	.13	.09	.07	.12	.09
	.84	.84	.18	.08	-.11	.09	.09	-.51	-.51	-.45	-.49	-.18	-.15	-.30	-.18	-.19	-.24
		.40	.19	.06	-.05	.01	.04	-.57	-.60	-.49	-.56	-.19	-.13	-.30	-.19	-.17	-.26
			.11	.09	-.13	.14	.11	-.28	-.25	-.26	-.26	-.10	-.11	-.21	-.12	-.15	-.14
				.04	-.03	.04	.01	-.27	.03	-.33	-.29	-.09	-.13	-.23	-.14	-.11	-.14
					-.81	.66	.87	.05	.14	.08	-.02	.06	-.00	.06	.02	.03	-.00
						-.40	-.50	-.04	-.03	-.13	-.12	-.01	-.04	-.10	-.05	-.06	-.08
							.38	.00	.09	.06	-.04	.06	.02	.06	.04	.03	.01
								.09	.20	.08	-.07	.08	-.05	.01	-.03	-.02	.01
									.77	.88	.64	.50	.05	.49	.13	.16	.19
										.56	.39	.39	.04	.34	.13	.15	.16
											.61	.48	.45	.71	.50	.49	.53
												.22	.19	.41	.25	.22	.27
													.25	.45	.29	.34	.22
														.80	.97	.93	.88
															.77	.78	.74
																.88	.83
																	78

Diversity and the Governance Process

A basic purpose of our research is to establish that the many different types of institutions have different governance patterns which affect both faculty morale and the kinds of policy-influencing activities faculty members engage in. Other reports will describe in detail the impact of organizational characteristics on the governance process. The empirical data strongly support our argument that institutions with different kinds of organizational characteristics will develop substantially different kinds of decision making, evaluation, senates, and faculty participation. The argument will be carried a step further, showing that organizational features combined with the governance patterns strongly influence the morale of faculty members--their satisfaction with working conditions and their trust in their administrations.

The premise illustrated in Figure 1 is that there is a long chain of influence linking organizational characteristics, governance, and morale. In turn all these will help determine the policy-influencing activities of the faculty. Whether the faculty will join unions, strike, persuade legislators, or participate in the faculty senate is explained to a substantial degree by all the steps in our argument. A word of caution is in order, however: our model presented in Figure 1 is greatly simplified. We show only a single arrow between each step in the chain of the argument. In reality, however, all the factors preceding any variable have an effect on it. For example, we show one arrow affecting policy-influencing activities, i.e. the one from morale. However, we mean to imply that all the preceding variables have a cumulative effect. Other reports will examine these connections.

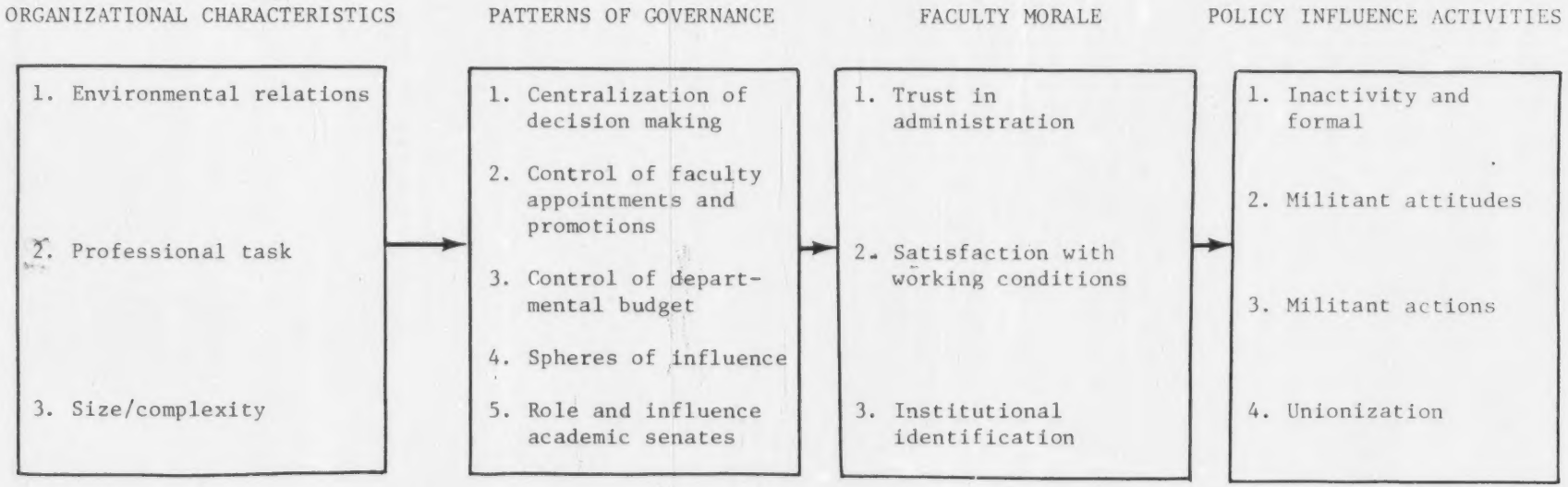

Fig. 1. Chain of influence of organizational characteristics.

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Summary: Diversity Among Colleges and Universities

We have argued that there are significant differences among higher educational institutions, especially on the three key factors of environmental relations, professional task, and institutional size and complexity. Some institutions are heavily dependent on their environment, while others have a great deal of autonomy. Some seek to accomplish relatively simple tasks, while others grapple with a kaleidoscope of objectives. Some are small and simple, while others are massive and complex. We believe, contrary to may other current observers, that the American system is extremely complex and diverse, and in particular that academic governance processes are and should be different in different institutions. Because of the enormous differences in academic organizations, it is necessary to group them meaningfully for purposes of study. For that reason we developed a typology of higher educational institutions comprising eight categories distilled from the more complex typology previously developed by the Carnegie Commission. The institutions in these categories vary systematically on almost all of our various measures of environmental relations, professional task, and institutional size and complexity.

It is critical to understand that these organizational features have a direct impact on governance processes within the institutions. For example, a high degree of faculty autonomy and participation in decision making is usually found in institutions that are relatively independent of their environment, have complex professional tasks, and

are large in size. At the other pole, we usually find virtual dominance by the administration and/or trustees in institutions that are highly dependent on their environments, have relatively simple professional tasks, and are small in size. Of course, there are enormous variations along the continuum as these factors change. One of the major goals of this research is to describe that continuum. We also hope to show how the different patterns of governance affect both faculty morale and the kinds of policy-influencing activities faculty members engage in. But these are tasks that must be left for subsequent reports.

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